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associate the troubles in the interior and along the Arabian coast with this splendid starfall.

"In penning my previous letter I had it in my mind to anticipate doubts as to the verity of Dr. Livingstone's death, by giving reasons why the event should not be discredited. That the Johanna men alone should have escaped, whilst all the rest were missing, was certainly doubt-inspiring. But the defence which they at once put forward was one which could be accepted without difficulty; the more so as, in Dr. Kirk's experiences, the order of the little column tallied precisely with that observed in Livingstone's prior Nyassa wanderings.

"He led the advance, Moosa led the baggage-men. It so happened that they rested and were at the rear, and Moosa had strolled on in advance of his party, and saw what has been recorded.

"It is not supposed for an instant that Moosa himself was seen by the Mafite; his escape unseen, and his inability to warn his people, account for the seeming marvel of surviving a Zulu onset.

"But there was one point about which there was no prevarication, no hesitation, no difference, amongst the nine men. It was the one wound that had killed, and the solemn declaration that they had buried their slain leader.

"Again it must be remembered that these men returned to Zanzibar, when it would have been easier and safer to have gone home to Johanna. They came at once to the Political Agent, and invited, or at least laid themselves open to the scrutiny and cross-questioning, which they could altogether have avoided had there been foul play, or anything in their own conduct which they wished to conceal.

"They well knew too that, either in Johanna or Zanzibar, punishment would surely overtake them, were it ever discovered that the tale of their leader's death was spurious.

"I fear that we must accept Livingstone's death as one other of those mournful sacrifices which Africa insatiably demands from those who seek to let the light fall upon the mystery of her inner lands and Pagan people.

"G. EDWIN SEWARD."

2. DR. KIRK'S *Report on the Route followed by Dr. Livingstone.*

"SIR,

"Zanzibar, 20th Dec., 1866.

"I have the honour to inclose a brief account of what in my opinion was the route followed by Dr. Livingstone, and with it a rough map, showing what seems to be the probable position of the leading places mentioned.

"You are well aware how impossible it is from such data as we

possess to arrive at a certain conclusion; I may, however, assure you that there seems nothing improbable in the narrative as I have received it, in regard to its geographical features.

"The customs, moreover, of the various tribes have been kept up throughout the detailed depositions made before you, and to which I do not here refer.

"One obvious source of error again meets us here; as Moosa and also one other of the Johanna men were of our party during two years on the Zambesi, Shiré and Nyassa, and these had the same means of learning the customs as I had.

"Still I regard the sad story as true, when stripped of what was obviously meant to conceal or apologise for cowardice.

"The recovery of the later despatches of Dr. Livingstone, written at Mataka, is imperative, as they will give a clue to his proposed course of action. I think it very likely that Dr. Livingstone again wrote before plunging into the Mavite country, of which none knew the danger better than he.

"From the confused and contradictory statements of the nine Johanna men now in Zanzibar, representing themselves as the only survivors of Dr. Livingstone's exploring party, it is impossible to indicate with certainty the route followed, the nature of the country passed, or the spot where Dr. Livingstone is said to have been attacked and killed.

"A personal knowledge of Lake Nyassa and acquaintance with the various tribes have aided me in arranging what I trust may prove, in its geographical points, as approximate to the truth.

"It will be remembered that the statements on which the following is based require verification, coming as they do from men whose cowardly behaviour gives an obvious motive for concealing the truth.

"After due allowance has been made, I regret being forced to the conclusion that Dr. Livingstone was attacked and killed by the Mavite a little to the west of the north end of Nyassa.

"The last letter we have from him was written on the 18th of May at the confluence of the Niende and Rovuma, called Ngomano. From Mikindany (on the coast) to Ngomano is a distance of 150 miles, of which the first 80 is level ground, covered with thick bush and forest. The remainder is more open, and studded with isolated masses of igneous rock and low ridges of syenite and schist, which cross the river-bed and render it impassable to boats.

"At Ngomano the river is joined from the south-west by the Niende. Here Dr. Livingstone crossed the Rovuma, and remained

some time with the chief at the confluence. The country to the north had been pillaged by the Mavite, a marauding Zulu tribe now settled to the west of Nyassa. This, added to a general drought, rendered provisions scarce.

"All the camels and many of the buffaloes had by this time died from the bite of the Tsetse fly; the men were therefore forced to carry loads, and a considerable amount of baggage was left behind.

"Leaving this place, they followed a westerly course, and after a day's march again saw the Rovuma for the last time.

"On the third day, having passed several plains and tracts of forest, they ascended hill-slopes clothed with bamboo-jungle. On the seventh they were at Makarika, a small Waiao village, where they stayed two days.

"Four days from Makarika they came to Mataka, a powerful Waiao chief, having much cattle and governing a populous district.

"On leaving Mataka, after a considerable stay, Dr. Livingstone lost eleven of the Bombay sepoy and two of the educated Africans who accompanied him. His party was thus reduced to twenty-three.

"After eight days' march they came to Makata, not far from Lake Nyassa. The border of the lake presented a flat sandy shore; it seemed to be about 6 miles wide, and the opposite shore a white sand, and no mountain of any consequence near, although large hills rose to the south. From the natives of a small fishing-village under Makata four canoes were hired, in which the party crossed. Embarking in the morning, they had all landed by noon; the water was shallow and the canoes propelled by large bamboo paddles, used only at intervals.

"There is certainly no part of the Nyassa south of lat. 11° which corresponds with this description. Throughout the 200 miles formerly explored it was found to be a deep blue lake, and at the only point at all narrow enough to allow of their crossing in the time mentioned, it is not only deep, but has a mountain ridge not far off its western shore. Besides, the head Johanna man, our present informant, was formerly one of the party on the Shiré, and accompanied Dr. Livingstone on foot beyond the point referred to; and, as he positively asserts that the old route lay far to the south, I have little hesitation in placing the spot where the lake was crossed as the unknown extremity at about $10^{\circ} 30' \text{ s. lat.}$

"There is a dilatation of the River Shiré soon after it escapes from the south end of Nyassa, much resembling what has been represented as found at the northern end; and I doubt not this is

the river I heard of as coming from a marsh near Mapunda. The account I received when on Nyassa, in lat. 11°, was that Sisia, Kondowe, Photo, Matete, Mapunda, Chisanga, and N'Karamba were the various places passed in going round the north end of the lake from where I then was to a point opposite.

"I was told that Chikamba, the chief of Sisia, fought with the Mavite, that at Mapunda a river entered from a marsh, but that the lake, ended before Mapunda was reached.

"There is good reason to think that Mapunda (or Kampunda), where Livingstone landed, is the same place as that I heard of in 1861. From Mapunda Dr. Livingstone went to Marenga; after two days' march west beyond, he crossed in canoes over a marsh. Thus he left the shores of the lake, and as his first object was to settle the extent northwards of Nyassa, we may presume that he had now done so and was on his way to Ujiji, perhaps by way of Cazembe. He seemed to have followed out the course mentioned in his letter of May 18, wherein he announced the intention of going on at once from Nyassa to Tanganyika, if his operations on the former were successful.

"Leaving Marenga, where they were well treated, a desolate country was entered, a region scoured by parties of Mavite, who are at constant war with their neighbours. At the last outpost of the lake people Dr. Livingstone was told that the Mavite were then near.

"On the morning of the second day's march from Marenga, about 9 A.M., when crossing a level plain with grass 3 feet high, and scattered brush and forest, a band of Mavite suddenly appeared and are said at once to have attacked, regardless of the loss of the foremost as they dropped to Dr. Livingstone's shot. The educated African boys were, as usual, near Livingstone, while Moosa, with the Johanna men, followed at a short distance behind. On seeing that something was wrong, Moosa went forward and from behind a tree observed three Mavite close upon Dr. Livingstone, who was at the time endeavouring to reload his gun. While thus occupied he was cut down by a blow of a battle-axe, which divided the bone of the neck. Moosa fled, and with him the other Johanna boys. It seems that being behind at the time and concealed in the bush they were not observed by the Mavite. However this may be, they say they were not pursued to a distance but lay concealed, and towards evening came up cautiously to see if the loads still remained where they had cast them down. Finding none, they advanced and saw Dr. Livingstone's body where Moosa had seen him fall. The upper clothing stripped and carried off, as were also his gun and every-

thing he carried. Near him were several of the African boys dead, and in front lay two Mavite. Having buried the body of their leader they left the spot, and after a time recrossed the lake at Kampunda ; but so confused is their story, that it is impossible to indicate their path to Keelwa further than that it lay north of that by which they went.

(Signed) "JOHN KIRK."

"To Dr. Seward, H.M.'s Acting Consul."

3. *Extracts from a Letter of Dr. KIRK to Sir R. I. MURCHISON, BART., dated the 9th December, 1866.*

"MY DEAR SIR RODERICK,

"Although the evidence is, in many points, contradictory in detail, and the survivors can give no clear account of their route, I find no cause to doubt their veracity in the main points of the narrative, and allow for much from the fact that an early flight alone saved them—an act of cowardice which would lead them in a measure to exaggerate some of the circumstances. One great difficulty is, that they speak the language of Johanna only, for this necessitates the use of unskilled interpreters.

"Our last communication from Dr. Livingstone was written by him on the 18th May. He was then at Ngomano, where he remained 15 days, and probably his letter was written about the beginning of that time, or soon after his arrival. We know that he started from Mikindany, struck the Rovuma about 30 miles from its mouth, and proceeded to Ngomano, without encountering any obstacle ; so far the natives were friendly, but the paths were most difficult, owing to the dense forest and tangled vegetation. I need not recount what he has narrated, and what has, no doubt, been communicated to you through Her Majesty's Secretary of State ; but shall briefly state, so far as I have learned, the condition of the party when at Ngomano. They mustered in all thirty-six, viz. :—Dr. Livingstone, 12 Bombay sepoys, 10 Johanna men, 9 boys (African) educated, and 4 Africans who had gone with him from the Zambezi to Bombay, where they awaited his return.

"Ngomano, on the confluence of Rovuma and Niende, is the country between these streams, so that he had crossed the Rovuma before reaching the village of the Chief, commonly named the 'N'donde.' The Niende was seen to be the main stream, the Rovuma being secondary to it. From previous expeditions we know that the Rovuma, below the confluence, is very subject to sudden rises and falls. In May it would be a considerable stream, but in October